1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50



584 serves the father of his betrothed as one of his own
583 family till the girl comes of age, when the marriage is consummated, and he becomes a partner in the general property of the family of his father-in-law."

582 A man may marry a girl belonging to the same
612 village as himself, if he and she are not members of the
621 same exogamous sept. In most cases, however, all the inhabitants of a village are of the same sept, and a man has to take as his wife a girl from a village other than his own.

583 Among all sections of the Badagas, adult marriage is the general rule, though infant marriage is also practised.
584 Marriage is preceded by a simple form of courtship, but the consent of the parents to the union is necessary. A girl does not suffer in reputation if she is rejected by a number of suitors, before she finally settles down.
585 Except among the Udayas, the marriage ceremony is of
[184] a very simple nature. A day or two before that fixed for taking the girl to the house of her husband-elect, the latter proceeds to her village, accompanied by his brothers, who, as a token of respect, touch the feet of all the Badagas who are assembled. The bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom, accompanied by the Kota band. Arrived there, she stands at the entrance, and her mother-in-law or sister-in-law brings water in a vessel, and pours it into her hands thrice. Each time she lets the water fall over her feet. The mother-in-law then ties round her neck a string of beads (māle mani), and leads her to the outer room (edumane), where cooked sāmai (*Panicum miliare*) and milk is given to her. This she pretends to eat, and the bridegroom's sister gives her water to wash her hands with. The bride and two married women or virgins (preferably the bridegroom's sisters) go to a stream in procession, accompanied by the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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unilinear kin group in which actual descent from a common male ancestor is now only a presumption (Gillin, 1948, 439; Murdock 1949, 66; Firth, 1951, 53; for fuller information on Badaga kinship, see Hockings, in press).

At this level of social organization the unit is spatially widespread: two clans are confined to a single village each (only among Kumba:ras); others are represented in clusters of nearby villages, while over half the forty-four clans are Nilgiri-wide in occurrence.

Clans are relevant in the arrangement of marriages, for there are fixed rules about which clans may marry; for example, Adikiris may marry Ha:ruvas but never Kaggusis. Clans may also form a community of interest for the pursuit of really serious disputes. In 1897, for instance, the Ha:ruvas of two different lineages in neighbouring villages were in dispute over which should have precedence during the annual fire-walking ceremony at Me:lu:ru. Having arrived at a compromise by which each group celebrated the festival on the alternate years, the whole Ha:ruva clan laid claim to a higher status than Wodeas, Adikiris or Kaṇakkas. A schism within the Ha:ruva clan has not emerged since (see below, pp. 203–204).

## PHRATRY

Among the Badagas two to fourteen clans form a larger unit that we call the *phratry*. Most of these phratries and some of the clans have been called sects or subcastes by previous authors, if only because they are named social units. It is manifestly confusing, however, to apply the same term to two quite distinguishable kinds of social unit. A phratry is usually defined as a grouping of two or more clans whose members assume a conventional bond of kinship which, though undemonstrable, is at least supported with a story of their common origin. In the Badaga community most phratries are non-exogamous, but in certain cases exogamy is tolerated; no Badaga phratry is totally endogamous (Lowie, 1948, 338; compare Diagram 7). The phratries each carry a distinguishable subculture. The smallest in size are divided into two clans, identifiable as agnates and affines. Phratries with more than about a thousand members have a larger number of clans and thus a more complex internal organization. In this respect the two thousand Christians mark the extreme of complexity.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



615 support for his high rank. Many also maintain that the Wodeas were descended from ancient Virashaiva Lingayats, reached the Nilgiris before any other Lingayats and came as priests, for which reasons too they deserve primacy.

178 615 Nobody disputes with the Christians or the Toreas for their lowly position, not even the Kota tribe who find themselves ranked lower still. On the other hand there is a movement now afoot to accord the Ha:ruvas higher status than the Wodeas: this springs from the minority who support a pro-Ha:ruva and pro-music faction. The mechanics of upward mobility for Ha:ruvas, a vegetarian group since its inception, have been to abrogate marital links with lower clans. The Ha:ruvas may marry Gaudas (non-vegetarians), Kongaru (vegetarians), Kanakkas and Adikiris (both Lingayat vegetarians). At present the frequency of marriage with Gaudas is decreasing noticeably, so that the Ha:ruvas are shifting away from their lower-status affines while becoming more closely linked by marriage with the Lingayats, though not adopting Lingayat religious practices themselves.

114 121 615 544 [582] Recently Mandelbaum (1970, 20) has described the Badagas as a *jati*-cluster. It is true that the units often identified as subcastes are now thought to constitute a hierarchy; but *none* of the ten is totally endogamous like a *jati*. Hypogamous marriages occur as often as hypergamous ones, a state of affairs not found between *jatis*, especially as marriage may take place between vegetarian and non-vegetarian Badagas. The ceremonial and economic links that one expects between *jatis* are of no consequence here except at the top of the hierarchy: Wodeas and Ha:ruvas do have attenuated ritual roles to play for the rest of the community, though over the past forty years these have been almost abandoned. Such linkages between the groupings are slight as compared with the economic and ceremonial ties between any Badaga village and its nearest Kota neighbour. These facts do not really justify calling the Badaga community a hierarchy or cluster of *jatis*: the concept of *jati* is unnecessary to this analysis. Phratry is the usual word by which anthropologists identify a grouping of clans, and there is no need to depart from that form here, especially as by doing so we might conjure up ideas of multi-caste villages, *jati* endogamy and *jati* occupational specialization which find no place in Badaga social organization although they are widespread in India.

174 M.N. Srinivas (personal comment, 1965) is probably right in suggesting, however, that at some point in the past, perhaps a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



174 couple of centuries ago, the Badagas adopted a caste model of society (or revived memories of the old Mysorean one) and attempted with only moderate success to fit their collection of lineages to it: indeed this perhaps was the act of synoecism. The inadequate fit that they achieved is reflected both in recent shifts in the ranking and in the ambiguous position that the claim to Brahminic status has brought to the Ha:ruvas. This group long ago 178 adopted the 'sacred' thread,[5] a vegetarian diet and the role of 615 priests, but they have no initiation ceremony, no *śra:ddha* for the dead and—having been illiterate—no Sanskrit or other holy writings. In the mid-nineteenth century they were still quite (177) ignorant of Hindu scriptures, (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). They now find themselves caught between two models, as it were, for while they are trying to develop the image of orthodox Brahmins other Badagas find that model much less appealing then a new westernizing model upheld by Christians and by the large, dominant Gauda phratry, a model that displaced their older tribal 615 model nearly a century ago. A more general ambiguity is expressed by shifts in the ranking of the hierarchy as certain Badagas attempt to achieve a more convincing accord between recently learnt Brahminic ideals and local needs. Since the (121) Badagas have shown little willingness to modify the customary (564) marriage patterns they are obliged to accept the anomaly of a hierarchy relevant only for ritual and not for marriage purposes: this sets them off from the usual model of caste society in which the units of the hierarchy are clearly delineated by marriage rules.

562 Another explanation for the lack of concern about status congruence when a marriage is being arranged is that the social (615) status of a young girl is determined by the village where she lives. Girls before puberty are for many purposes treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular family. Once a girl (562) has attained menarche (in earlier days, before that) she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and where her status is determined only by the clan and the affluence of that family, never by her own father's. The same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where only the males' generation level is important in determining relationships. The generation level of a woman is that of her husband and can actually change as she (562) marries successive husbands from different generations.[6] Though a cross-cousin is preferred, a Badaga may marry women, either

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



concurrently or sequentially, from his aunts' and nieces' generation levels as well as from his own: such co-wives would all attain the generation level of their husband by these marriages. It is this outlook on women that permits Badaga marriages even between differently ranked clans without any thought of hypergamy being advantageous or hypogamy reprehensible.

Marriage between cross-cousins is the ideal, but because a young man's spiritual guidance is the responsibility of the mother's brother his daughter is less preferable as a bride for that youth than the father's sister's daughter. The mother's brother, called a *guru*, has a distinctly superior status to his nephew's, yet as giver of a daughter in marriage he must occupy an inferior position in the eyes of the groom and the groom's parents. This is because the bride's father feels under some obligation to the family who will take away his daughter. As one old man explained the matter, the feeling is expressed in the newly emerging practice of offering gifts of some thousands of rupees to 'bribe' a youth into a marriage. The likelihood of role ambiguity in cases where a man marries his *guru's* daughter is avoided either by searching out a classificatory cross-cousin, or by choosing the daughter of a mother's brother other than the spiritual guide or by marrying a father's sister's daughter. (Only among the Toreas is marriage with a classificatory niece permissible: she is a father's brother's daughter's daughter.)

Role ambiguity may also affect the women in a household where a man has married his *guru's* daughter. In that situation the bride's aunt (her father's sister) is also her husband's mother. The bride, relying on her father's influence over his own sister, tends to quarrel more with her than in the alternative case where a man has married his father's sister's daughter: the latter should be more timid and controllable and thus more appreciated.

A further reason for preferring marriage with a daughter of the father's sister is the need for reciprocity in bride-giving between exogamous villages. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, he is *taking* a girl from the same village, lineage and family whence his own father also *took* a wife. On the other hand a reciprocal relationship has been honoured, Badagas feel, when the youth *takes* his bride (the father's sister's daughter) from the same village, lineage and family to which his father's father *gave* a daughter in marriage. Since bride-giving is thought to be somewhat demeaning, this reciprocity allows the families to maintain their relative social standing.

582 [538] Another factor entering into the choice of a bride is expressed in the proverb, 'Have the girl from a far-away place; have the cow from a nearby place.'[7] It is generally felt that a woman from a distant village who is a classificatory cross-cousin will make the best of wives, for she will not take too many liberties with affines who are not previously well-known to her, and at the same time she will be unable to run home to her parents too often; in short, she is likely to remain in the marital home and work adequately there. An example of an ideal marriage with a classificatory father's sister's daughter is to be seen in Diagram 9 (p. 179) (the man marked X). The principle of 'equivalence' of brothers in this kinship table makes X's wife a cross-cousin to him.

565 [121] In Chapter 10 we will discuss the manner in which the modern Badaga community is becoming a class society. We should nonetheless note here that already by the nineteenth century a class of 'gentry' had arisen in each village. This is the term I have chosen for the families descended from the village founders and including all of the headman. As will be seen, these people had higher social status than others and a peculiar status in Badaga law, to be explored in Chapter 8.

128 The marriage system which now links the forty-four Badaga clans into ten phratries is a very complex one and calls for a clarifying diagram to accompany the following pages of description. Each circle in Diagram 7 represents one clan, and the intervening lines link clans which customarily intermarry. Clans have been grouped into phratries. The dotted lines mark irregular but acceptable patterns of marriage. The subcultural divisions between Lingayats and other Shaivites, between Christians and Shaivites, and between vegetarians and meat-eaters, have also been indicated.

## WODEAS

615 [162] The majority of Badagas rank Wodeas as the highest phratry in the community.[6] They occupy twelve villages scattered across the plateau, some very close to the villages of lower phratries. Their villages are not all exogamous. There are perhaps four thousand Wodeas, distributed among three unnamed clans, or six septs. These septs, with their variant names, are as follows:

615 614 612 Clan I: Ṣu:riya and Selandi (or Sedili) septs;

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



Clan II: Ko:ve:ru (Ko:vu:r or Koyaru) and Belli septs;
Clan III: Barata and Maduve (otherwise Maituve or Mandu) septs. This last clan, whose ancestors had come from the Angala monastery where they were *Jangama* priests, provides priests (Woderu) for most other Badagas.

Because the clans are not actually named, the confusing practice has grown up of referring to them either by the names of villages where they are found or by the names of their constituent septs. Further identification of the clans is found in the unusual feature of their recognizing clan deities. As with the Lingayat Mallavas of Coorg (Srinivas, 1942, 36-37), Wodeas who worship the same god may not intermarry.

Wodea marriages are arranged between members of any two of the three clans, even if between inhabitants of the same village; marriages also link those of the Nilgiris with those of Ha:sanu:ru. Since the beginning of this century marriages have been contracted with Lingayat girls from the Wodea caste of Mysore who, unlike Badaga girls, bring a dowry and are often well-educated: outsiders are thus increasingly entering the community. Some intermarriage with Kaggusis has occurred, and in a few cases Wodea girls have married Kanakkas.[9]

Wodeas, however, cite not only their supposed royal origins[10] but also the longer time they have lived in the Nilgiris as reasons for the near-absence of intermarriage between them and the other Lingayat clans. Initially, too, they were suspicious about whether these immigrants really were Lingayats; and furthermore the fact that people of these three clans may marry non-Lingayats is obviously not lost on the Wodeas. Locally they are considered a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat group, in the sense that they abide strictly by whatever prescriptions and proscriptions of the Lingayat creed are known to them. Lingayats of Mysore might regard them as rather unorthodox, though, for the Badagas were illiterate until this century and were thus unable to read Lingayat scriptures or even to follow the religious calendar properly (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). Apparently the Wodeas had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the other Lingayats arrived.

In the past Wodeas did not accept food from Ha:ruvas or any socially inferior phratry but would eat in the inner room of any other Wodea house (Grigg, 1880, 220). Their food may only be cooked in metal vessels, not earthenware. Other Badagas take

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



615 [162] [128] this particular phratry is commonly called 'Badaga'. At a rough estimate it numbers eighty thousand. I prefer to use the correct but not widely recorded name Gauda, as it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling one phratry and the entire community by the same name. The word *Gauda* also points to their derivation from the Kanarese farmers and cattle-breeders known by that name (a branch of the Okkaliga caste; Thurston, 1906; vol. II, 269-272).

The Badaga Gaudas today occupy some three hundred villages; hence, unlike the members of a smaller phratry, no Gauda can hope to have friends or relatives in every village. Often a man cannot be too certain about whether a particular *distant* village belongs to his own or to another clan. This can raise difficulties when a marriage is being arranged with a village into which the groom's lineage or village has not previously married. Otherwise, the Gaudas can assign every village with which they have marriage connexions to one clan or another (aside from some special cases).

614 582 [615] So far as I can ascertain the Gaudas have six clans plus ten 'neutral' villages which may have marriage relationships with any other Gauda village. It appears—and informants confirm this—that the unwieldly size of clans with over ten thousand different kinds of solution. The first employs divisional boundaries—the only situation in which the larger political divisions of the Nilgiris are relevant in the arrangement of marriages. Gaudas observe a rule that clan exogamy is essential only in marriages arranged between two villages *within* the same division. If the village is in any of the other three divisions, and if there is no known precedent of a marriage with that particular village, then it is usually *treated* as a member of another clan even though it would be possible to argue that it belonged to the same clan were the villagers to trace out a network of other known marriage connexions that indirectly link the two villages. If in one's own division two villages A and B have both had marriages with village C, then A and B usually belong to the same clan and call themselves 'brothers'. But if the villages A and B are in different political divisions then the fact that at some time they both married people from (or into) village C—which might be anywhere in the three other divisions of the plateau—is deemed irrelevant. In practice, where a history of marriage with C could be demonstrated for both A and B, the villagers would usually rationalize the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



knowledge by saying: 'After all, the connexion is too distant to matter; we are not marrying our own blood.' In effect they are giving up the ideal of clan exogamy in these cases while retaining the more meaningful ideal of village and lineage exogamy. The clans have now become so large that Gaudas can no longer look upon them as corporate groups. This adjustment in thinking is necessary because the old names for the clans have been forgotten and because the detailed knowledge Badagas carry of their kinship field—often embracing over three hundred people—coupled with the tremendous accumulation of relatives that comes from numerous births and frequent remarriages could otherwise make the ideal of clan exogamy totally unrealizable.

There is another manipulation to surmount this problem. Ten non-exogamous Gauda villages are in a sense of 'neutral' clan affiliation: that is, they may arrange marriages in their own village or with any Gauda clan without generally being accused of marrying within a prohibited degree. They thus form a kind of safety valve: the precedent of a marriage with one of these villages can be used to validate any other village's membership of a particular clan. This is possible because the six clans are not generally known by names now (though at least two of them still were in the last century): they are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning 'agnates' and 'affines' (or 'our clan' and 'another clan'). These special villages also act as a kind of reservoir of youths and girls eligible to *any* Gauda village needing spouses.

Though the vast majority of Gauda marriages are within this complicated system of clans and neutral villages, a number of permissible marriages have also been arranged with other phratries. Ha:ruvas marry into Gauda families, though now with decreasing frequency; the meat-eating Adikiris, a small clan, have no marriages outside the Gauda phratry to which they therefore belong in sense if not name.[16] A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga Christian girls with Gauda boys, usually those with college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among urbanizing Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their 'freer' interaction with men. When a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to a clan other than her groom's.

Gaudas, like Badaga Christians, are usually meat-eaters. They are willing to eat in the houses of any other phratry but the Toreas and the Christians. Adikiris, Kaṇakkas and Wodeas offer Gaudas

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



French-supported film factory and a protein products factory, supposedly to improve farm productivity and employ the pool of Badaga graduates.

## MODERN LAWS

Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the modernization of Indian society have affected the Badagas very little, and these we need review only briefly.

The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856, had no particular effect on Badagas since there was never any interdict against remarriage of their widows. The Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937, has always been ignored by Badagas, and the women have never challenged their traditional treatment: the property is only inherited by males. Nor does the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, receive due recognition from Badagas: marriages are still not always monogamous and are sometimes contracted with grooms below eighteen or brides below fifteen. Kotas and lowland Harijans, although supposedly protected by the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, are never allowed into Badaga temples and are normally served with separate 'untouchable' glasses when they drink at a village teashop. People in Nilgiri villages may not be ignorant of such legislation, but there certainly remains some resistance to the idea of integrating the official system of law and administration into Badaga culture. Even more resistance can be found among the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas.

## NOTES

1. Meaning, respectively, Toda division, Western division, Europeans' division (from *feraṅgi*, 'Franks') and peak division (from Tamil *kuṉṟu*, 'mount'). Why one division should have been named after Europeans is not clear, unless it be a reference to seventeenth-century Jesuits who may have entered this area from Sattiyamaṅgaḷa and Me:ḷupa:ḷaya, where they were then active; Société des Missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. xii, 234-235. The name is certainly ancient. Grigg, 1880, 13, n. 1, and Macleane, 1893, 678, derive this name however from Tamil *periya Raṅga*, 'great god Raṅga,' who is worshipped in this area; see above, p. 127. Throughout the nineteenth century these territorial divisions were adopted by British administrators, but in 1882 they were superceded by the three *taluks* (Gudalur, Ootacamund, Coonoor) that are still recognized today.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



626 797 close relatives and any other Badagas who were receptive to the missionary message. Many cases could be cited from mission publications of Badagas who wavered in their attitude towards conversion. Metz for example commented that

> . . . the people of a village can be really affected by the love of Christ, when it is preached to them . . . But when I come again on my next tour . . . I find that in the meantime they have been so frightened by Satan and his tools that they hide in their houses when they hear that I have come, or run away when I ask them to listen if only for ½ hour. They fear to be convinced by my sermon and to have to suffer for it from their relations (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23).

In some instances men waited till they were dying before openly requesting baptism (B.E.M.S., 1878, no. 39, 63). Individuals were always extremely reticent to become the first converts of their village. They often promised they would become Christians if their friends or relatives would lead the way. Thus Metz (1864, 135) remarked:

> . . . there are Badagas who will readily kneel down with me and offer up a prayer in which their wants were often expressed more forcibly, than they probably would have been by many a nominal Christian, and who, for several years, have discontinued idol worship: but when I ask them to go one step further . . . they immediately refer me to another, and say that if he will set the example, they will follow it; and if I appeal to him, he puts it off with a similar excuse.

Their immediate family problem was expressed by several to the preacher: 'What you say is true; but were we to follow your advice, we should have no hope of getting wives for our sons.' (B.E.M.S., 1853, no. 13, 39; 1856, no. 16, 34; 1858, no. 18, 92). [562] Intermarriage between Hindus and Christians was unthinkable. Fear of ostracism was great, and held men back from the Christian fold.

159 626 518 797 The biographies of some converts vividly convey the extent to which the Hindus tried to force converts back into their old ways. The following slightly abbreviated quotations offer a representative pair of case histories.[1]

(1) [Mada, baptized Mark] . . . had a wife and a little

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50



of a bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat segment of the community. Many Badagas argue that as people from even the lowest castes could be converted to Virashaivism (though they seldom are) there is a danger that the girls brought from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For upwardly mobile Badagas that is no easy pill to swallow.

## CHANGING PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE AND RESIDENCE

Since 1890 small minorities in nearly all phratries have contracted marriages beyond the boundaries of the community. A few Wodeas, Kanakkas and Adikiris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore, generally from Mysore City itself. The Be:das and Kumba:ras have sought brides from the Be:da and Kumba:ra castes of the plains, too. With improved transportation and literacy such marriages have become possible; and the Lingayat cases reflect a move towards closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Gauda boy and a Badaga Christian girl, provided that the girl's ancestry traced back to a clan other than the boy's. Such unions, which would earlier have been unthinkable, now occur among the more progressive who have had a college education.

These shifting patterns of alliance have altered the phratry system but little, though changing criteria in marriage arrangements have had a profound impact. The appearance of dowry-like transactions in a society which previously expected only a type of bridewealth is the most portentous of a whole complex of changing criteria. Before the wedding the boy's family always pays the *honnu* to the girl's family; *honnu* thus has the appearance of a bride-price, but this is not a good English translation of the term. It is money to be spent on the gold ornaments that bedeck the bride when she leaves her home to join her husband and without which the marriage would not be performed. By providing the cost of the ornaments the groom's family ensures that the ceremony will proceed. If a divorce later occurs the wife must return the ornaments or their cost, together with any other gifts of clothing or jewellery that her husband may have made (Harkness, 1832, 116-117; Metz, 1864, 86-87; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 105-106; Tignous, 1911, 119). With rising gold prices the *honnu* has also increased steadily. Early in the last century it was generally '15 to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



20 rupees' (Ward, 1821, lxxi); and then 'on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees' (Harkness, 1832, 42); by 1867 it was Rs. 80;[2] early in this century it was about Rs. 100;[3] in the 1930s and 1940s it was more often Rs. 150 (Ranga, 1934, 3); today it is usually about Rs. 200 (Moses, 1964, 4) but may go as high as Rs. 500 among the wealthy or as low as Rs. 50 in a poor village.

Though *honnu* is still paid, a gift from the girl's family has become common in recent marriages. Some older men, especially those with marriageable daughters, attribute the expectation of such a present to the avarice of modern youth, but the general reason for the development is that young men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth and in their own potentiality to earn than was true of earlier generations. Previously the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, may sometimes be willing to offer thousands of rupees if his daughter can marry into another affluent family. Such a gift is not a dowry, for it is not agreed to as a condition of marriage and is not handed over with any ceremony. It is, however, deemed appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, which promises secure support and enhanced status for the girl. Several hundred Badaga men have now (1975) earned college degrees whereas few girls have. The preponderant choice of groom is thus between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated men, and one method of ensuring the girl's marriage with a college graduate is the payment of what one elder described as a 'bribe'. While not an old Badaga custom it is now becoming somewhat fashionable.[4]

The traditional preference is for marriage with a cross-cousin, whom a youth commonly finds in the same village into which his sister has married. This is still the normal choice: either he marries his sister's husband's sister (a cross-cousin) or else a related neighbour of that husband. The intrusion of a demand for a substantial present into this reciprocal exchange between two clans and two villages can be an unpleasant shift away from custom: two families, lineages or villages which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance that proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks a financial settlement it may rupture this stability, as such a gift will imply social inequality between the contracting parties. Offering a financial inducement

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

No longer are the wealthiest families members of the gentry. The latter have recently been supplanted by *parvenus* with the ability to wield more influence and political power. These *nouveaux riches*, contractors, businessmen, dealers in illicit liquor[5] and plantation owners, have wherever possible reinvested their earnings in tea or coffee estates and private bus lines. Occasionally, too, this new-found capital has been invested in Badaga-owned businesses in the towns. Another popular type of investment is in sending sons to college, which can bring prestige to a family in a short space of time. Men who obtain degrees in law or medicine are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, where they usually practise, but those who manage only a B.A. or B.Sc. find it brings some prestige but rarely a well-paying job. Nevertheless, upwardly mobile families wish their sons to take a bachelor's degree and then to settle down in their home villages and farm the land.

Among those wealthy enough to expect or to pay a substantial gift at marriage, fulfilment of their traditional roles in the society can become a problem-laden, anachronistic burden. Such men may command annual incomes a hundred times greater than the average for other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly apparent inequality the wealthy are constantly plagued by importunate villagers and distant relations, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate traditional bonds of kinship or friendship so as to grasp their share in the power and influence of the *nouveaux riches*. It is therefore not surprising that the wealthiest Badagas have tended to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in a town or in the middle of their tea estates. As the wealth of these families grows and as the possibility of their upward mobility, as modern Indian families rather than Badaga villagers, becomes a reality, their attitudes towards the traditional society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of their old culture so demanding or so relevant, for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society whose aims and ideals are for them represented in the morality and the cultural paraphernalia of modern romantic Indian films.

## THE NEW FACTIONS

By the end of the nineteenth century there may have been several

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50



threshold first; to plant the left foot before the right would bring the ceremony to a most inauspicious end.

Even though the ceremony has concluded, the men who have performed in it take various precautions to insure that they retain their state of purity for the remainder of the day. The meal that they eat is a vegetarian one; thus they avoid polluting themselves and their houses by having meat cooked on this occasion. To start the meal with butter is very auspicious, since eating butter is in Badaga thinking a sign of affluence and good luck. When the men have finished the meal they are careful to wash in cold water—the prescribed means of washing whenever Badagas wish to remain in a pure state. Afterwards they can clean and repair the cattle shed if they wish, for this is a meritorious act performed in a sacred place. Otherwise the only permitted activities are the cleaning of their clothes and of themselves.

Finally, we must consider the social relations which are given expression during the ceremony. The various sources of the community's welfare and of its power structure are reflected in the ceremony, albeit in symbolic reference. The family is represented usually by its male head, otherwise by a chosen male representative. The lineage is nowadays symbolized in the common pit used by all the cattle of each lineage. The entire hamlet community is represented in concerted action by the party of men who come from every household in the hamlet, as well as by the man from the Great House who is the living descendant of the founding ancestor.

One curious element is the habit of feeding each celebrant afterwards in the outer, less sanctified, room of his house. Men regularly eat in the inner room; the people who normally must eat in the outer room are the women and all visitors from lower-status phratries of the Badaga community. It would seem that the man who gives salt to his cattle is confident of his own ritual purity and that of his entire house on this occasion. By eating in the outer room he suggests that status differences between men and women, and between his phratry and others, are of no importance provided ritual purity prevails. This attitude is also reflected in other aspects of Badaga culture: people of higher and lower ranking clans intermarry, both hypergamously and hypogamously, and members of lower ranking phratries sometimes participate in the temple rituals of higher phratries without polluting the temples.

Women are excluded altogether from the salt-giving ceremony, if only because there is a risk that the presence of a ritually unclean woman might subvert the benefits looked for from God on this auspicious occasion. And yet the women do play a necessary "backstage" role in cleaning the house, decorating it, bringing in water, and cooking the meal. Segregation of women from the ceremony underlines a basic fact of hamlet organization: the hamlet is exogamous, and hence all wives in it are "outsiders," members initially of other hamlets. Furthermore, women inherit neither land nor cattle. Symbolically the ceremony concludes an annual pact between the men and God for the fruitful blessing of crops, cattle, and children, all of which in Badaga law belong to men alone. Even so, the oldest woman

groups, called phratries. These are like subcastes, except that they have no form of occupational specialization and members are often permitted to marry outside their own phratry. In this hierarchy the conservative Woḍeya group is at the highest level and the Toreyas, servants of the headmen, are the lowest. Between these two there are one phratry of vegetarians and five others of meat-eaters. The Christian Badagas, the first of whom was converted in 1858, belong to a separate meat-eating phratry which, although ranked below the lowest Hindu group, is respected for its progressive habits. Each of these phratries is made up of several clans which are exogamous, and every Badaga village belongs to one of these clans. There are no "multi-caste" villages. In effect this means that a man must marry a girl from another village, and she will come to live with his clan.

Although cross-cousin marriage is the norm, many of the Badaga rules of marriage differ from those which usually govern the South Indian Hindu. Most remarkably, marriage is allowed between members of clans which have a different ranking, and it is of little concern whether the man is of a lower or higher clan than his wife. A man may have more than one wife — in one case as many as five simultaneously. Divorce and remarriage are easy and quite acceptable in the community. Even widows can remarry without prejudice or criticism. It has recently become common for a dowry to be paid by the bride's family on her marriage; but the traditional custom is for the husband to pay bridewealth. This sum, nowadays 200 rupees, does not purchase the bride, but covers the ornaments she brings with her to the wedding.

Certain marital relationships are more favoured than others. Marriage for the Badagas is ideally between cross-cousins and a man should, if possible, marry either his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. But other relatives are permissible, provided they belong to the appropriate clan. A man may marry a girl far younger than himself, one of a different generation-level; and although throughout his life he can only belong to the generation he was born into, a woman changes hers according to her current husband's position. It is even possible for a man to marry a woman and her daughter (provided she is not *his* daughter) and her granddaughter. All three wives are then considered as belonging to the same generation.

An important feature of this community, from the point of view

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759 462 [582] [591] Secondly, these treatments have descended through many generations of therapists in the different villages. What are the implications of this? Badaga villages are exogamous, and marriage is virilocal. When a woman becomes a therapist, who then is she likely to learn from? As we shall see with Sithamma, who was not atypical in this respect, she learns from her husband's mother, or from some other older woman who is married into his village. This must make for some confusion occasionally. Perhaps a small girl learns the identities of many plants around her natal village, and may even acquire some basic cures from her mother or other women living in that village; but she only begins formal training as a therapist *after* marriage, which means that she is then living elsewhere, being indoctrinated into a possibly different set of practices and identi-

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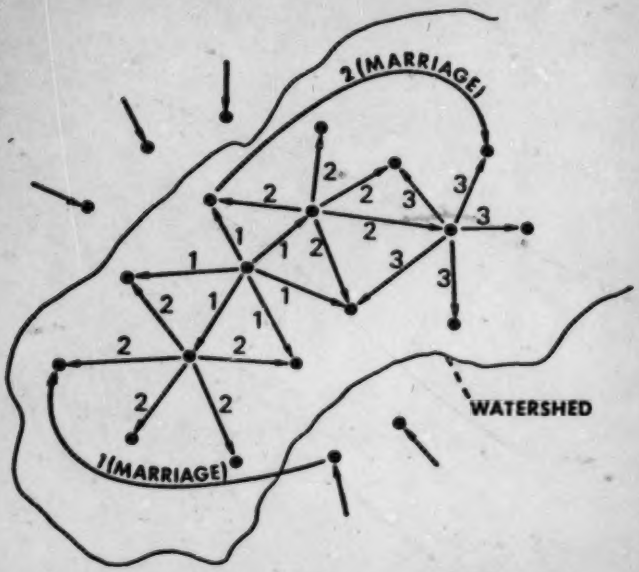


**Diagram 3 : Schematic illustration of the spread of medical knowledge through some neighbouring Badaga villages during three professional lifetimes of therapists (ca. one century)**

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picked for the task by the boy's own parents. This initiation of youths still seems to occur: some do it because an older man has advised them to, others because they love the woman, and others again because her own husband seems unable to satisfy her. The elder brother's wife is in fact the most accessible person for a youth's training or gratification: the two of them are often working together in the fields, and even if they do not live under the same roof a young man always has ready access to his brother's house. In earlier days relations with such a woman were particularly common when she was on the way from her husband's village to visit her father, when she was working outside the village, or when her husband went out to the fields to guard the crops against wild animals during the night. The husband might himself recommend that his younger brother stay with his wife, to assuage her fears of the Kurumba sorcerers. If the young man were seen leaving her house in the morning, no one would criticize him or think less of the woman.

Such formal sexual initiation has virtually ended, but adolescents still indulge in sexual play, some girls even being so aggressive as to way-lay boys in the woods for this purpose. There is no indication that such play occurs before the coming of puberty, and nowadays the fact that most children are attending school makes it less frequent. Since this kind of play most often occurs within the village community it takes place between consanguineal relatives, albeit distant ones. The play is of course conducted in secret, and without knowledge of the parents. The most adventurous kind of love assignment is one in which a youth hides inside the house of his beloved, by squatting inside the huge grain storage basket (*balla*) that some homes still have. Once everyone has gone to sleep he gets out for the rendezvous. Girls who are guarding a field from the birds are an ideal target for amorous adventures; and there it is usually a pair of girls who are approached by a pair of boys. Girls gathering wood in the forest may also be propositioned, but if they spend too much time away from the rest of the women their absence will be noticed. If it should happen that an adolescent girl becomes pregnant by a boy who is her agnate she cannot marry him, and her parents therefore try to arrange a marriage as quickly as possible with a male who is in the "correct" relationship to their daughter, preferably a cross-cousin. Generally a man does not want to marry a pregnant girl unless she is carrying his child.

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*Lovers and Prostitutes*

3.6. Badaga girls used to be married shortly after puberty and youths in their late adolescence. Various social pressures, most importantly the new educational requirements, have increased these ages until today a girl gets married at about 16 and a young man in his early 20s. Since births are not registered it is possible for parents to claim their daughter is older than she really is at marriage: recent legislation about age at marriage (18 for girls, 21 for men) might sometimes prompt them to do so.

One effect of this raising of the appropriate age for marriage has been an increase in premarital sex activity among male youths. The corresponding phenomenon does not seem to have occurred among the girls, however; quite the opposite, in fact. I was told that a "double standard" has recently appeared, in that if an unmarried man is known to be having an affair he is not thought badly of, whereas if a young woman does so she is mocked by other villagers and considered very immoral. This development has come about since mid-century because of changing attitudes towards pregnancy. In earlier days an unmarried girl would have affairs without any great fear of pregnancy, because she knew that if she did become pregnant she could go before the village council, name the father, and he would be forced to marry the girl concerned. She only had to assert that a man was the father and he would have to marry and support her — even if he already had a wife. Should a man refuse to accept the council's decision on the matter he could be outcasted and ordered out of the village, his property divided among his brothers, and a share of it given to support the pregnant girl. This, rather than an abortion, was the normal procedure. Today an unmarried woman is very circumspect even if she has reached the age of 30. She knows that a ruined reputation can spoil her chances of an advantageous marriage, and the village council has little power to force a wayward man into marrying or supporting her today.

3.7. As with much else in Indian social organization, there is a hierarchy in the frequency and acceptability of extra-marital sexual partners, as outlined below.

(*a*) Most frequently chosen is a girl related as affine to a boy; they are a couple who might later marry without offence. Usually this means the girl would have to be of the same phratry but a different clan, and live in a different village from the boy's. If the parents

discover that an adolescent couple related in this acceptable way have become lovers, they try to persuade the two to marry. Should the girl become pregnant this pressure becomes very great.

It is said that prior to this century parents would make a pair of cross-cousins sleep together in a separate room before they were married. This was so that they might feel certain about their sexual compatibility. If one of them did not in fact like the idea of marrying the other, such an encounter might be arranged on some other pretext, solely in the hope that one cross-cousin would seduce the other and a marriage would result. A girl might even receive instructions from her mother on how to accomplish this and perhaps would be left by her mother at the boy's house for a night or two. Such practices led to hasty marriages, but are no longer followed.

A special kind of concubine-like relationship occurred until late in the nineteenth century. In those early times headmen had much more authority than subsequently, and local lore maintains that a headman visiting another village where he had to stay overnight would be offered his choice of the young village girls by the host headman. It was believed that a girl so favoured had special merit because of her physical connection with the prestigious visitor, and many men would therefore want to marry her. Although such a brief encounter was not expected to lead to a marriage with that headman, the chosen girl would normally have to be in an affinal relationship — i.e., tentative spouse — to the visitor.

(*b*) Second in frequency and relative acceptability is a sexual encounter within a joint family. Only two such relationships bear discussion, but genuine incest will be noted below under (*g*).

It is very rare for a man to have intercourse with his son's wife, even though a Badaga is generally more intimate in his relationship with her than more orthodox Hindus would be. What is common however is for a youth to have an affair with his elder brother's wife and doubtless in a few cases with a younger brother's wife. We have already pointed out (3.5) that an elder brother's wife may actually be called upon to provide a young man with his sexual initiation.

(*c*) The Toreyas have the lowest status of any Badaga phratry, except perhaps for the recently formed Christian one. With a few minor exceptions Badaga marriage occurs only *within* each of the ten phratries. Nonetheless there was a tendency to "hypergamy," if we may call it that, in extra-marital affairs. Toreya girls, and even

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615 582 554 837 some of the higher status phratries, in the last century often managed to talk, kiss or even have coitus with men of superior phratries. If a Toreya woman had no child, it is said her husband would not be greatly upset to find she was having an affair with a man of higher status, for as that man was "purer" any child that he sired would also be good and pure. It is noteworthy that Wodeya men, who belonged to the highest of all phratries, did not usually have casual relationships with non-Wodeya women (cf. 3.1).

615 554 836 837 601 It is very shameful for a higher-status Gauda man to be discovered having relations with a Toreya girl. This is because the Gaudas, the majority group among Badagas — regardless of their age and generation level, and although they have no kin ties with Toreyas — call all Toreyas of whatever generation "son" or "daughter." In turn the Toreyas address all Gaudas and higher Badaga phratry members as "grandfather" or "grandmother." Such paternalism acts as a psychological restraint, one Badaga suggested. Similarly Toreya men do not have coitus with Gauda women because they are scared of getting caught at it, and also because calling a Gauda girl "grandmother" is really a deterrent, my informants say. It is noteworthy that if an illicit relationship is developing between a Gauda boy and a Toreya girl they do not address each other by these fictive kin terms but by more endearing terms, which if overheard warn others that something unusual is a foot.

615 554 836 (*d*) Less frequently higher-status youths have affairs with girls belonging to another phratry, but one superior in status to the Toreyas.

548 837 (*e*) There has been no identifiable class or community of Badaga prostitutes, although in a very few instances women have adopted this profession, usually as an escape from their unattractive husbands. In general though the sexual partners of Badaga men would be described as lovers and mistresses. Beyond the limits of the community altogether some men do also find full-time prostitutes. There is a Badagu term (*ha:tira giti*) for a sexually loose woman: although she has extra-marital relations she tries to be secretive about them. This contrasts with *su:ve*, a woman who, everyone knows, is keeping a man just for sexual satisfaction or to get some favour from him.

548 839 197 A kind of borderline case between the mistress and the prostitute (does English have a word for this?) is constituted by girls of the neighbouring Toda and Kota tribes, many of whom are willing to have intercourse with Badaga men, some for the novelty of the

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181 'Oh brother, who are these
539 Most wretched of them all?
831 In naked shame they're bound
To rugged gnarled trees.
548 They ever seem to talk,
But none are there to hear.'
'Oh sister, you surely have heard who these are:
Abandoned and profligate women, who wandered astray
From virtue and home. They have nothing wherewith
To cover their shame. They are hungry and cold.' (Gover 1871: 85).

In short, there was a touch of puritanism in Badaga oral literature that was apparently more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

*The Consummation of Marriage*

128 3.8. The early part of this chapter has summarized some of the kinds of sexual activity and instruction that precede marriage. It is now time to analyze the sexual behaviour that accompanies a wedding. In doing so we shall not consider the symbolic aspects of the [582] ceremony nor its sociological features; save only to mention that hamlets are exogamous, and the preferred bride is the daughter of one's father's sister, or otherwise a mother's brother's daughter is [615] almost equally acceptable. In the Toreya phratry alone marriage [582] with a sister's daughter is permissible, though infrequent. An ethnographic account of Badaga marriage may be found in Thurston (1909: 103-09).

583 In the nineteenth century a form of trial marriage was engaged in. 584 A young man might then approach a girl's parents, and if they liked him they would invite him to their house, where he would be feasted and allowed to sleep with the girl. In the morning she would express her opinion of the youth to her parents, and her mother would then signal to him the family's decision, by giving him a meal of curried meat or similarly rich fare if he was acceptable, or otherwise just some boiled rice with a watery vegetable relish. "The same freedom, however, that on the following morning is allowed to the female, is also allowed to the youth; and should any change have taken place in his inclinations, he walks away without further ceremony" (Hark-

ness 1832: 42). It was also reported that some young men of dubious virtue were noted for the frequency with which they walked away (Francis 1908: 131-32).

Such freedom no longer finds parental connivance, and today a girl is expected to be a virgin at marriage. She may continue to be one for some time afterwards too, for it is usually the mothers of the couple who decide when to "send them to the bed-house," as the euphemism goes. No such restrictions occur for a woman who has already been married before, and in one reported instance such a bride actually took the initiative on the first night by fondling her previously impotent groom until he was able to do what was expected of him.

In earlier times, a reliable informant estimated, a mere one or two per cent of men had relations with their brides prior to marriage, and this was because girls were married at about puberty. He also estimated that perhaps ten per cent of bridegrooms had had sexual relations before marriage with girls other than their brides. Another man who was married in 1930 asserted that his 12-year old bride lacked a hymen, but did not reach menarche until two months after marriage. This and similar anecdotes do at least suggest girls used to become sexually active around the age of 12; female education has probably elevated this age somewhat (but on the other hand it is not uncommon for young virgins to lack a hymen). In earlier times it used to be fairly common for girls of the well-to-do gentry families to marry as young as at 10 or 11 years. They tended to be well-fed and well-built girls, but menarche had not yet occurred. For the sake of form nonetheless such a bride would spend the usual five days in the menstrual hut prior to her wedding.

3.9. When the couple are especially young the boy's parents may place all sorts of barriers in the way of their consummating the marriage. This is common, and generally because the parents want the girl to work but not have children yet. Needless to say, the resourceful couple can outwit the parents in this matter, for example by an afternoon meeting while the rest of the household is out working in the fields. A more leisurely ruse is for the young husband to send his wife away to visit her father, and then to follow her after a short time. Since a bride is not supposed to do any work while visiting her parents, and since her husband is always welcome in their home, the couple will have plenty of time alone together while the rest of the family is working outside the house. And many Badaga villages have dense forest nearby.

175 already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was
614 possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas
175 were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru news-
615 paper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Braluminy thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In 1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeya] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas] ; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacerdotal string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status con-
●582 562 gruence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is consi-
(554) derable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely
(561) by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are regarded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred
(841) places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by
562 the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The
602 same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where
582 generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

562 582 602 generation level of a woman is that of her husband, however, and can change as she marries successive husbands from different generations. It is supposedly possible for a single Badaga man to marry, either concurrently or sequentially, a woman and her daughter and her mother. All three co-wives would attain the generation level of their husband by this marriage. The Badaga outlook towards women is one that permits marriages even between hierarchically ranked sibs without there arising any thought of hypergamy being advantageous and hypogamy reprehensible. Such an attitude, let it be noted, is most unusual for an Indian society.

582 No Badaga should marry a girl related to him as a classificatory sister; that is, a mother's sister's daughter or a father's brother's daughter. Nor should he marry a girl related to him in a similar way, though the connection goes back a generation further: mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, or else father's father's brother's son's daughter. Nor may a man marry his sister's daughter, a marriage permitted among some jatis elsewhere in South India. The general rule is that two people must not marry if they are in any way related through either a pair of brothers or a pair of sisters. The normal kinds of marriage are therefore with cross-cousins, either a father's sister's daughter or a (604) mother's brother's daughter. However, because the mother's brother plays a very important part in a man's religious and social development, and because there is a great deal of interaction between him and his sister's son, it is felt that the mother's brother's daughter is more closely related to a man than his father's sister's daughter is. Amongst Badagas it is therefore generally thought that marriage with the father's sister's daughter is the best arrangement possible; not because a marriage with the mother's brother's daughter would in any sense be closer to incest, but simply because it would probably lead to a certain amount of quarreling

582 between the bride and her husband's mother, who is of course her father's sister
(581) (Benbow 1928: 20). Badagas expect that a bride who is father's sister's daughter
(518) to her husband will be more timid and easier to control than one who is the mother's brother's daughter. At the root of this preference lies a conflict of roles: there is a very real problem for a Badaga if his wife's father is also his own mother's brother, since these are two very different roles. One entails giving his daughter to a young man, and receiving a sum of money "in return"; the other entails acting as the young man's spiritual guide. Most Badagas feel that there is a certain ambiguity involved if a single individual, vis-à-vis his sister's son, has both of these roles at once. It is quite common for Badagas to marry more distant relatives who are only "mother's brother's daughter" or "father's sister's daughter" in a classificatory sense, however, in which case the ambiguous situation we have described and the conflict that it might generate can both be avoided.

## The Phratries

615 The most deep-seated -- and certainly the oldest -- divisions in the Badaga community are those between the phratries. Each phratry is said to have a distinct historical origin, and remains a distinguishable social entity today for
614 purposes of arranging marriages and celebrating certain rituals. The sibs perhaps come closer than the phratries to being corporate groups in most cases: each
(621) hamlet is typically the home of members of one sib only. In the few cases where families from another sib are also present, they are recognized as being fairly
121 recent immigrants, and their "native" hamlet is known to all. In view of the central importance of the sib structure to an understanding of Badaga social organization, we will now present in some detail an account of the features which distinguish
128 each phratry and its constituent sibs. These will be treated in the order that many

128 Badagas rank them in the social hierarchy.

The diagram overleaf (p. 53) is an elaboration of one given above (p. 46). Here again each rectangle represents one sib, and thin lines link the sibs which traditionally intermarry. The broken lines indicate abnormal marriages that occur only at rare intervals. The heavier lines mark the main subcultural divisions within the community, between vegetarians and meat-eaters, and between Lingayats and the other Saivites.

615 (162) The majority of Badagas rank the Wodeyas as the highest phratry in the community (Francis 1908: 130-31). They occupy about a dozen hamlets scattered across the Nilgiris, some of them very close to the hamlets of other phratries; perhaps they number 3000 people. The Wodeyas, unlike the lower-ranking phratries, are divided into four named, exogamous sibs, several of which will be represented in the population of each of their hamlets. In some ways, therefore, the organization of the Wodeya phratry is like that of the next phratry, the Adikari-Kanakka-Haruva-Kaggusi grouping; for this too is made up of four named, exogamous sibs. The difference is that members of the various sibs in this second phratry do not typically inhabit the same hamlet, and may not intermarry with any one of the other three sibs.

•582 584 615 Wodeya marriages are nearly always arranged between members of any two of the four sibs; with the proviso that a man should not marry into a family in which his mother's sister, mother's brother, father's sister or father's brother have married. But since the beginning of this century some marriages have been contracted with Wodeya Lingayat girls from the Mysore Plains, who are not Badagas at all. In a few cases Wodeyas have even been known to marry Kanakka girls.

615 The Wodeyas claim to be descendants of the family of that name who were the ruling house of Mysore in the period 1399-1761, and later under the British surveillance became maharajahs of the princely state of Mysore (Grigg 1880: 220; Francis 1908: 130-31; Thurston 1909: I, 72-73). That the Wodeyas may have really been religious functionaries before they came to the Nilgiris -- and not the royalty they now claim to be -- is strongly suggested by Hayavadana Rao's derivation of the word:

> Wodeyar: Kan. plural and honorific form of Odeya, lit. lord, master; spelt variously as Odeyar, Wodeyar, Wadeyar and Wadeyaraiya, in inscriptions and literary works of the Vijayanagar and Mysore periods. In Tamil, the word occurs as Udaiyar, as in Chola inscriptions among others. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Vira-Saivism was the predominant creed in the Southern Karnatak. This is evidenced by the fact that the word Wodeyar not infrequently appears in the literature of the period in a modified form as Vadēr or Wadēr, a term of respect by which Jangama priests were, and are even now, addressed. (Hayavadana Rao 1943: 517)

Burrow & Emeneau translate the word as "owner, lord, master, ruler" (1961: 45). Until a decade ago the Wodeyas in the Nilgiris had always acted as priests for the other Badaga Lingayats. Wodeyas cite not only their supposed royal origin, but also the much longer time that they have lived in the Nilgiris, as reasons for there being no intermarriage between them and the other two Lingayat sibs among the Badagas (Benbow 1928: 5, 7). They are a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat minority, and apparently they had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the arrival of the other Lingayats. It is worth 582 615 recording that there have been a few irregular cases of marriage between Wodeya girls and men of the other two Lingayat sibs. These are in no sense normal or even acceptable, but they do constitute cases of what is, for India, the rare phenomenon of hypogamy. The alternative of hypergamy in this situation is known only from a single instance.

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> It has been suggested that the Hāruvas (Jumper) derive their name from the fire-walking ceremony, which they perform periodically. A further, and more probable suggestion has been made to me that Hāruva comes from a Canarese word meaning to beg or pray; hence one who begs or prays, and so a Brāhman. The Canarese Basava Purāna frequently uses the word in [this] sense. (Thurston 1909: 1, 73)

It should be noted that firewalking is in no way the prerogative of the Haruvas; all non-Lingayat Badaga sibs can perform the act; and all, I was assured, can jump rather than walk across the glowing charcoal if they so choose. For what the information is worth, we might add that Kittel's Dictionary (1894: 1650) gives the Kanarese word Hāruva as meaning "Brahman"; and Burrow & Emeneau show that the word is the Kannaḍa cognate of a common Dravidian word meaning "Brahman" or "seer" (1961: 273). Despite these arguments, the subculture of the Badaga Haruvas is an extremely atypical one for Brahmins: they have no ceremony for investiture of the sacred thread, and do not recognize themselves as being "twice-born"; they were until this century totally illiterate in Sanskrit or any other language; and they are completely exogamous. Haruvas are in fact like any other Badaga sib on matters of marriage: there is little apparent congruence between the status a family occupies and the status of families with which it has marriage connections. Haruvas marry spouses of both sexes from either the Adikari or the Kapakka sib. In either case the marriage is thus between a Śaivite vegetarian and a Lingayat vegetarian. (Lingayatism of course derives from Śaivism, but the two religious systems and their personnel are now quite distinct.) While these are the commonest marriages for Haruvas, it is also permissible for Haruva men or women to marry members of the Kaggusi sib, which is a vegetarian Śaivite group supposedly broken away from the main body of Gaudas a few generations ago. Perhaps the most surprising pattern of marriage permitted to Haruvas is that with men or women of either of the Gauda sibs (Metz 1864: 56). These are Śaivites too,

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●562 but are not vegetarians. In most parts of India anyone claiming to be a Brahmin
614 and practicing vegetarianism would consider it a great dishonor to take a wife from -- or worse still, to marry his daughter into -- a family of meat-eaters generally acknowledged to hold lower status in the social hierarchy. It is true that marriage between Gaudas and Haruvas is not very common; but the reason lies not in any abhorrence of the idea on the part of the Haruvas, but largely in the inconvenience such a marriage causes a meat-eating family who find themselves obliged to prepare only vegetarian dishes, and in separate vessels, whenever a Haruva affine (581) is visiting them. When a Haruva man marries a Gauda girl, it is usually because (583) he owns little or no land; in such a marriage the bride's father is likely to give the (591) Haruva land in that Gauda hamlet and encourage the couple to settle down there. Such a procedure commonly occurs when the bride's father has no son of his own; but even if he has sons they may be agreeable to the arrangement when land is available. This is the only situation in which Badagas practice uxorilocal residence.

Despite the general rule among Badagas that a woman assumes the status
262 and joins the sib of her husband's family, marriage between vegetarian Haruvas
562 and non-vegetarian Gaudas does not mean that the wife has to assume her husband's
614 dietary habits. If a Haruva girl marries a Gauda, then no meat is ever cooked in his house and the wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband wants to eat meat, he will perhaps arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it outside his own home. The children of this union are fully Gaudas, however, and will normally be non-vegetarians. Once the Haruva woman has died her husband's household normal-(783) ly revert to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, "If a Badaga [i.e. Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse (753) her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue" (Benbow 1928: 9). "After this she would

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not dare to eat meat because of the superstitious belief that she would lose her eyesight" (Karl 1945: 3). From this we can see that a woman who marries into a Haruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Haruva girl marrying into a socially lower sib is not expected to accept its dietary norms (Tignous 1911: 117). If a Haruva girl marries into an Adikari or Kapakka family there will be no change in her diet; but she will be expected to wear the lingam if it is given her, and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Haruva marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread but she usually continues to wear the lingam (if one has already been given her).

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Haruvas are willing to accept food in the inner (more sacred) room of any other Badaga sib except the Toreyas. They would not demean themselves to enter a Toreya house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Wodeyas never accept food in a Haruva house, as they believe Haruvas to be inferior; but the other Lingayat sibs both eat in the inner room of a Haruva house. Even meat-eating Adikaris, who are not Lingayats, are offered vegetarian food in a Haruva's inner room. The same holds true for visiting Kaggusis and Gaudas; people who might often have occasion to visit a Haruva household if they are related to it by marriage. Haruvas also allow Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasubas to eat in the outer (less sacred) room of the house, but Kotas are considered too polluting to pass beyond the entrance.

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The vegetarian Adikaris are a Lingayat sib, numbering perhaps 3500 people, who inhabit sixteen hamlets scattered across the plateau. The sib should only intermarry with Haruvas or Kapakkas; but in the past 30 years a few have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. Rarely will a girl from the Nilgiris go to Mysore to marry, on the other hand. There have also been a few

614 cases of vegetarian Adikaris marrying meat-eating Gaudas.
(582)

The word Adikari means "powerful man", and was once used as the title of a village headman appointed by some local prince. Whether any ruler was ever effectively in control of the Nilgiris before the advent of the British is uncertain; but Adikaris like to claim they were appointed as officials of a ruler who came up from Mysore.

614 The Adikari hamlets probably have closer social cohesion than any of the
619 other Badaga sibs (except for the two tiny phratries called Kumbaras and Bedas).
527 This solidarity stems from the fact that Adikaris, alone among all the 17 sibs, hold
(621) an annual "reunion". Every November they go to the village of Nellitorai, on the Coimbatore Plain near Mettupalaiyam, to worship at the place where a Lingayat saint was drowned some centuries back. It was from this spot that the original five Adikaris are supposed to have started up into the Nilgiri Hills, after having journeyed to this place from northern Mysore (Metz 1864: 50-51). It is now obligatory for at least a few men from each Adikari hamlet to attend this function each year; and members of other Badaga sibs are welcome to take part in the worship if they choose.

614 Despite this demonstration of Adikari solidarity, there have been several
(619) defections from the sib and its Lingayat values. There is one hamlet where Adikaris intermarried with Toreyas quite a few generations ago; and there they are always treated as Toreyas, although sometimes called Adikaris. In three other Gauda hamlets Adikaris have intermarried with meat-eating Gaudas. In both instances, these Adikaris are no longer vegetarians or Lingayats (Metz 1864: 50-51). In two hamlets there are vegetarian Adikaris who do not wear the lingam, but still retain the status of Adikaris. They are called Adikari, but are not considered to be

614 778 of ancestral Kaṇakkas and are worshipped but never read. No ancient manuscripts were discovered in Kannada, it should be noted.

582 614 Kaṇakkas intermarry with Adikaris, Haruvas and Kaggusis, and during this century some have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. A few cases of Kaṇakkas marrying Wodeyas have also been cited above (p. 54).

As Kaṇakkas and Adikaris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other sib, and as they are both Lingayat groups, they are normally accorded equal status by all Badaga phratries. The regulations for Kaṇakka commensality are precisely the same as those described above for the Adikaris.

614 [162] Among the smallest sibs is the one called Kaggusi. Their numbers must total slightly under a thousand. These people are vegetarians who inhabit only four hamlets. They wear neither the sacred thread nor the lingam. The sib, like all 582 614 others, is exogamous: they intermarry mainly with Kaṇakkas, but also with Haruvas and Gaudas. It is interesting to note that the Adikaris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, because Kaṇakkas do marry them, they must be fictive brothers to the Adikaris; yet no such argument stops an Adikari from marrying a Haruva. Perhaps Haruva/Kaggusi marriages are too infrequent to be remembered by the Adikaris.

615 [162] [121] Some 90% of the total population of Badagas are Gaudas; for which reason this phratry is commonly called Badaga. A rough estimate puts their population at around 80,000 people. It is preferable to use the correct but not widely recorded term Gauda, since it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling a single phratry and also the entire community by the same name. The word Gauda also gives an important clue to their history and the origin of the Badaga political system; for

615 political divisions of the Nilgiris are relevant in the arrangement of marriages. Gaudas observe a rule that sib exogamy is essential only in marriages arranged
582 between two hamlets within the same division. If a marriage is arranged with a
614 615 631 hamlet in any of the other three divisions, and there is no known precedent of a marriage with that hamlet, then it is usually treated as being a member of the opposite sib, even though it would be possible to argue that it belongs to the same sib, were the villagers to trace out a network of various other marriage connections that indirectly linked the two hamlets. In one's own division, if two hamlets A and B have both had marriages with hamlet C, then A and B necessarily belong to the same sib. But if hamlets A and B are located in different political divisions, then the fact that at some time they have both married people from hamlet C (which might be anywhere in the three other divisions of the Nilgiris) is deemed irrelevant. In fact, where a history of marriage with C could be demonstrated for both A and B, the villagers would usually rationalize the knowledge by saying: "After all, the connection is too distant to matter; we are not marrying our own blood." In effect, they are giving up the ideal of sib exogamy in such a situation for the more
614 615 meaningful ideal of lineage exogamy, because the sibs have become so large that they can no longer be regarded by Badagas as corporate social groups. This adjustment in thinking is very necessary, because the detailed knowledge Badagas carry of their kinship field -- which often contains 300 or more people -- coupled with the tremendous accumulation of relatives that comes from numerous births and frequent remarriages, could otherwise make the ideal of sib exogamy an altogether insurmountable problem.

There is a second way of manipulating the problem. Various peripheral Gauda hamlets are in a sense of "neutral" sib affiliation, it seems: that is, they

614 615 are each exogamous, but may arrange marriages with members of either sib without being accused of marriage within a prohibited degree, simply because they are too small and isolated for many other hamlets to know anything about them. They thus constitute a kind of "structural safety-valve", for the precedent of a marriage with one of these hamlets can be used to validate an argument about any other hamlet's membership of either sib. This is possible because both Gauda sibs are unnamed, and are identified only by reciprocal terms meaning "brothers" (i.e. "our sib") and "in-laws" (i.e. "their sib"). These various peripheral hamlets also act as a kind of reservoir of boys and girls eligible for marriage with any hamlet in need of spouses.

●582 615 While it is true that the vast majority of Gauda marriages are with members of the opposite sib, there have also been a number of permissible marriages arranged with members of other phratries. Both Haruvas and Kaggusis marry into either Gauda sib. A few Bedas may also have married into either Gauda sib. In three hamlets non-vegetarian Adikaris have intermarried with Gaudas, and are now treated as Gaudas. A very recent development has been the marriage of a few Badaga (581) Christian girls to Gauda boys, normally those with a college education. Christian girls enjoy a certain reputation among Badagas for their comparatively high level of education and their "freer" interaction with men. Where a Christian girl marries a Gauda her patrilineal ancestry must still trace back to the opposite sib from her groom's.

574 615 Gaudas are willing to eat in the houses of any other Badaga phratry, except for Toreyas and Badaga Christians. Adikaris, Kapakkas and Wodeyas only offer Gaudas food in the outer room; whereas Haruvas and Kaggusis allow them to eat in the inner room. In each of these cases the Gaudas may be meat-eaters, but

574 615 they will only be offered vegetarian food in the inner room. Usually it is only between two families related through a marriage that this latter situation might arise. Generally the vegetarians do not eat in non-vegetarian homes. Toreyas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda house, but meat-eating Adikaris will eat in the inner room.

162 615 Few Badagas know of the existence of a Badaga phratry called Kumbara, so small are its numbers. The Kumbaras live in two nearby hamlets on the northern edge of the Nilgiris (Metz 1864: 60), and total only 50 households -- about 300 people. The two hamlets are two exogamous sibs, and where possible intermarry. 614 615 One of these hamlets, however, contains only ten families; so that the other hamlet has to look elsewhere for most of its spouses. [582] They do not intermarry with any other Badagas, but do arrange marriages with any of the several thousand families 615 of Kanarese Kumbaras who live in and around Mysore City. Although these latter are not Badagas the Kumbaras of the Nilgiris believe that the two groups have common ancestry. Those living in the Nilgiris nevertheless class themselves as Badagas, are recognized as such by their neighbors, and carry a distinctively Badaga culture almost identical with that of the Gaudas. Many Badagas who know of their existence believe that the Kumbaras actually are Gaudas.

172 615 Within a half-mile of one of the hamlets is a deserted fortification, said to have been constructed several centuries ago by the Raja of Ummattur, a town of southern Mysore (Francis 1908: 350). Badaga folksongs indicate that the Kumbaras came into the hills in this Raja's retinue. The traditional occupation of their caste is ceramics, and although they no longer know how to make pots there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of 2-3 meters in the ramparts of the old 186 615 fortification to testify to their former industry on this spot. On the basis of this

615 186 presumed connection with royalty the Kumbaras claim to be the highest of all Badaga phratries; but all other Badagas (who know of them) rank them above Toreyas and below Gaudas. Some Kumbaras are vegetarian, but most are not.

615 (162) The Bedas are another Badaga phratry living in the same locality as the Kumbaras, and also numbering about 50 families divided between two exogamous sibs. They inhabit only two hamlets, both near the old fortification of the Raja of Ummattur, and members of both sibs live in each hamlet (Metz 1864: 47-48; Francis 1908: 350, 370). The Bedas do not marry any other Badagas although, like the Kumbaras, they undeniably [582] [614] are considered Badagas: either they marry into the other Beda sib, or they arrange marriages with Kanarese Bedas -- who are not Badagas -- living in Mysore City or in Tiruppattur town (Salem District).

The Bedas believe that they came to the Nilgiris as hunters in the service of the afore-mentioned Raja of Ummattur: the word bēda means "hunter" (Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 382). Today they are only farmers; but until about 1950 they still supplemented their diet by hunting on the jungle slopes with the bow and arrow. They are normally meat-eaters, and -- partly because they are traditionally takers of life -- are ranked by the other Badagas as lower than Kumbaras but above Toreyas. It is interesting to note that both the Bedas and the Kumbaras, like all other non-Lingayat phratries, have their own "village Toreyas" who act as messengers for the headmen. Most Badagas know so little about the Bedas that they regard them as a community now absorbed into the Gaudas, which is in fact not the case at all.

The Toreyas are universally regarded as the lowest of the Badaga phratries; and although there are some meat-eating Adikaris who have been absorbed into their

565 family even though it is not one: this represents a change from the 19th Century
556 situation. Unlike the members of other phratries, however, a wealthy Toreya
(615) will only receive the respect due to a member of the gentry from the other members of his own phratry. To anyone else he is primarily a Toreya rather than a prestigeful man.

In the arrangement of marriages, although it is obligatory (as we have
•582 seen) to take brides from other sibs and is sometimes acceptable to take them from
614 other phratries, it is not common or desirable to take brides from across the divi-
615 sion between gentry and non-gentry. A Kaggusi man, for example, may take a Gauda bride, thereby crossing the limits of his phratry and of the vegetarian community; yet if he is of the gentry his bride should be so too.

587 The gentry are the only Badaga families who have any compunctions about
565 the remarriage of widowers. No young woman of a gentry family would marry a man who had performed the crucial rice-sprinkling ceremony at the funeral of his previous wife. This is therefore an exception to the usual Badaga practice of allowing remarriage freely to both widowers and widows. If a widower of the
(764) gentry has done this ceremony he can only marry a widow of the gentry. With this in mind, if a widower wants another young wife as soon as his previous wife has died, his brother does the rice-sprinkling ceremony at her funeral instead (provided the parents of the brother's wife agree to it). This is supposed to be a public affirmation that it was really her husband's brother who had supported the dead
(584) woman; although everybody knows that this is a mere fiction. The parents of his
(581) wife must agree to the performance because they might not want their daughter married to a fictional widower, particularly if he too is treated as "gentry"; but they usually agree willingly because it is to the advantage of all concerned

578 691 place the poison effectively.

## Changing Patterns of Marriage and Residence

177 615 582 The recent changes in the Nilgiris that we have described have left the phratry system of the Badagas relatively untouched. There have been several minor but interesting exceptions to this statement, however. During the present century a few Wodeyas, Kapalikas and Adikaris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore -- usually from Mysore City itself. Only with improved transportation and literacy have such marriages become possible; they reflect a move toward closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism in its Mysore home-land.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Badaga Christian girl and a Gauda boy. Earlier in the century such unions would have been unthinkable; now they occur among "progressive" Badagas who have typically experienced a college education. The ancestry of the girl is still expected to trace back to the sib opposite to the boy's.

184 582 615 During the years since 1913 small minorities in nearly all of the Badaga phratries have contracted occasional marriages beyond the boundaries of the Badaga community. The important exception to this minority trend is the Toreya phratry. As we indicated earlier (pp. 67-68) some epidemic catastrophe early in this century produced a great imbalance in the size of the two Toreya sibs. One would expect the Toreyas, under these circumstances, to follow the lead set by [595] other Badagas and arrange marriages with families in Mysore. The Toreyas, however, are relatively conservative, and have chosen to weather out their crisis by allowing men of the smaller sib to practice polygyny whenever they can afford it.

178 583 If changing patterns of alliance have altered Badaga social structure very

little, changing criteria in marriage arrangements have nevertheless made a profound impact. The appearance of dowry transactions in a society which previously demanded only a type of bride-price is the most outstanding instance of a whole complex of changing criteria.

In arranging a marriage, the boy's family always pays honnu to the girl's family before the wedding. Honnu thus has the character of a bride-price; but this is not a good English translation for the term. Today the honnu is two hundred rupees; in the 1930's and 1940's it was Rs. 150 (Ranga 1934: 3; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 250); at the beginning of this century it was about Rs. 100 (Tignous 1911: 119); early in the last century it was "on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees" (Harkness 1832: 42), or "15 to 20 rupees" (Ward 1821: lxxi). With rising prices the honnu has also been increasing steadily; yet it is not really thought of as a bride-price at all. The Badagas are explicit that the money is to be spent on gold ornaments with which to bedeck the bride when she leaves her own home to join her new husband; for without certain customary ornaments the marriage cannot be performed. Thus the groom's family ensure that the celebration will go ahead by supplying the cost of these gold ornaments. At a later time, if divorce occurs, the wife has to return to her husband the ornaments or the Rs. 200, together with any other "gifts" of clothing or jewelry that he may have made (Harkness 1832: 116-17; Metz 1864: 86-87; Thurston 1909: I, 105-06; Tignous 1911: 119).

The system of paying honnu still continues, but dowry has become an additional requirement in some recent marriages. The general reason for this is that young Badaga men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth and in their own potentiality to earn than was true prior to this century. In earlier

days the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, will often be willing to pay a dowry in order to marry his daughter into another wealthy family.

The wealthiest of Badaga families today are not necessarily members of the gentry at all, although formerly this was always true. It is the wealthy parvenus who have recently supplanted the traditional gentry in the ability to wield maximum influence and political power. How have such families become wealthy? As we have seen (Chapter VI), some have been able to plant large areas with tea or coffee, and these estates have brought in tremendous profits; others have become contractors for various building projects — the Nilgiri railway and the army barracks being major cases of this. Others again are middlemen, distributing fertilizers or dealing in potato crops. Yet others have been making money from the large-scale distribution of illicitly made liquor, ever since prohibition was instituted directly after Independence. Regardless of the way in which the money was acquired in the first place, it is wherever possible invested in tea or coffee plantations, or perhaps in privately owned bus-lines. Such new-found capital is sometimes invested in Badaga businesses in Ootacamund or Coonoor, as well. Another type of investment is in the support of sons studying at universities; and this can bring high prestige to a family in a short period of time. Men who can obtain degrees in medicine or law are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, but those who manage to get only a B.A. or a B.Sc., whether by bribery or by hard work, find that it brings some prestige but rarely any additional income. Upwardly mobile families now wish their sons to take at least a bachelor's degree, but afterwards expect the graduates to settle down in their home villages again and

554 871 farm the land rather than try to use their academic knowledge more profitably elsewhere.

It is these wealthy families who have led the way in introducing the idea 581 583 of brides bringing a handsome dowry to their grooms. The custom is well known to Badagas because the Tamilians and Kanarese typically practice it. Payment of (177) (177) dowry also seems appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, for his high social status promises (871) secure support and enhanced status for the girl. While several hundred Badaga youths have now acquired college degrees, scarcely a dozen girls have. Hence nobody yet expects to be married to a girl whose intellectual training has gone beyond the high-school level. Girls, on the other hand, have a choice between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated husbands. Ability of a girl's father to pay a substantial dowry is one method of ensuring a prestigeful marriage with a college graduate, and so providing her with a husband capable of supporting her adequately in the changing conditions of the modern world. Dowry is not an old Badaga custom at all; but it is now fashionable in the context of what the Badagas conceive to be modern India.

• 582 We must remember that the traditional marriage preference was for a cross-cousin; whether this was the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter, a Badaga youth more often than not found her in the very hamlet where his married sister lived. This is still quite common today: either he marries his sister's husband's sister, or else a related neighbor of that husband. 584 The practical problems in finding go-betweens and arranging a marriage alliance can be resolved more easily in this way: the boy has the excuse of visiting his sister while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides, and the

are Tamil, not Badagu. Very many of the Badaga hamlets have built a bhajan house specifically for use during evenings of devotion. Such houses are owned by the hamlet in common and are considered as temples. Inside the bhajan house will be a number of lithographic prints of Kriśna and other gods, and perhaps an image. During the course of a devotional evening, puja will be done to the image or to some of the lithographs. Not everyone in a hamlet is interested in the bhajan form of worship, however; but its popularity is clearly increasing, for it has its strongest following among the village youths. Once a year small donations are offered for the support of the bhajan group by every household in the hamlet where it is performed. An increasing interest in bhajans has been noted elsewhere in South India (cf. Singer 1959: 149-49).

2) Lingayats, too, have developed their ties with the plains. Before this century they knew little about the Vīraśaiva religion in their Mysore home-land. Perhaps once a year a Lingayat guru would wander up into the Nilgiris from Nanjangud (so says Harkness 1832: 137); but whatever he might be able to teach about the Lingayat faith would have to be transmitted entirely by word of mouth. In the 20th Century, on the other hand, the Badaga Lingayats have become literate, and some of them read books on Lingayat philosophy quite avidly. Cheap transportation has also enabled them to make pilgrimages to some of the places that are sacred in Vīraśaiva belief, and to meet well-informed monks and Jangamas in the towns of Mysore State.

One significant fruit of this increased contact has been the occurrence of a number of marriages, during the present century, between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeyas have taken this step. The move for marital links with Mysore has not been met with equanimity by

177 many Badaga Lingayats, however: indeed, this matter has been the subject of a
582 bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat part of the Badaga community for several
578 decades. Many Badagas feel that, as people from even the lowest castes can be converted to Vīraśaivism (though they seldom are), there is a danger that the girls from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For Badagas this is no easy pill to swallow.

177 796 3) Many Tamilian and Kanarese celebrations are being adopted. An important effect of the greatly improved communications with the plains to the north and east has been the appearance in many Badaga hamlets of non-Badaga religious practices that have undoubtedly been borrowed during the present century.

769 (177) During the past 30 years, for example, a variety of memorial ceremonies have been instituted by Badagas for the anniversaries of deaths within the family; prior to this time there had been no such memorial ceremonies. Some families now do a puja in the house, before a photograph of the deceased. A few people have been buried -- or their ashes buried -- at places other than the village burial grounds, and stones have been erected to mark such spots: here the near relatives may perform an annual puja. Some families invite the more distant relatives to the annual ceremony; others do not do this, but distribute food to the poor. Some do the ceremony at daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the puja is over, others will not work at all on that day. The scale and form of a memorial ceremony varies from family to family, it would seem.

177 796 It is not only new death ceremonies that have recently been introduced, however. Various annual festivals have been adopted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and support, by many of the hamlets.

578 coloring, for those opposed to Brahmins in general, and ipso facto were in support
615 of the Justice Party.
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Before the Kota-music factions and the political dispute arose, another factional division had split all of the Lingayat groups but did not involve other Badagas at all. Some of the Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris -- as we mentioned earlier in this chapter (p. 123) -- started a practice of arranging marriages with Kanarese Lingayat girls who live in the area which had presumably been the Badaga home-land many centuries ago. The first such marriage occurred around the year 1890, the practice is still not common among Badaga Lingayats, and the marriage of Lingayat Badaga girls to Lingayat men in Mysore is extremely rare. My investigation showed that the families who preferred marriage with Mysore people felt that it might raise their prestige to marry girls from the city of Mysore and its umland, particularly because this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of Virašaivism. Most of these people could also cite that the lord Basava himself taught that all men and women are equal, and that caste distinctions and endogamy are social evils, not divine prescripts. The Badaga Lingayats who have opposed the idea of marrying girls from Mysore complain that, because Lingayat philosophy countenances conversion from the lower classes, the Kanarese girl one marries may come from a family originally belonging to a very inferior caste, such as the washermen or leather-workers. Once they have become Lingayats there is no sure means of discovering what their real background has been. This factional split was marked by more violence than most: its culmination came probably in a battle of a thousand or more Lingayat men armed with sticks and rocks, which occurred at one village in 1945. For many years the two factions had not intermarried or interdined and after this fight they were not allowed to celebrate festivals in that particular

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8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AWSO Badaga AWSO



121 The extensive analysis of Dravidian kinship over the past quarter of a century, especially at the hands of Dumont, Gough, Leach, and Yalman, has rarely been insistent on maintaining a distinction between rules and practices, and authors have tended to shift from one kind of data to the other whenever it suited their purpose, usually leaving the reader to assume that kinship practices are the rules in action. This may or may not be so in a particular case, but no identity between rules and practice should be presumed.

In Badaga kinship practice we certainly find that a great deal of accommodation of behaviour becomes necessary in daily life beyond the realm of kinship rules, since many of these have not been elaborated sufficiently to provide for all possible eventualities. Take, as an example, the ritual requirement that a daughter (and in fact her husband) must make a gift of one embroidered shawl at the funeral of each of her parents: that may be identified as a rule, one that can be stated by informants and is normally followed; but if there are several daughters, some married and others not, who presents that one shawl? Here we can find no rule to guide behaviour. In one instance that came to my attention, the several daughters were married to men of differential wealth, and they had to agree to split the costs of one shawl evenly between them. In this situation the poorest of the husbands would press for a lower contribution, and the wealthier husbands would have to agree to his figure and contribute the same amount themselves so as not to embarrass him; then they jointly got a cheap shawl.

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In another case three brothers each had one wife. The eldest had three sons and no daughters, the second three daughters, and the youngest one daughter. This meant that there would be four married daughters available to present—with their husbands' financial support—six embroidered shawls at the six funerals expected at the parental level. But before any of these deaths occurred, one daughter was divorced. The husbands of the three daughters remaining married agreed that each would make himself responsible for the purchase of two shawls, and then they designated which two funerals each would contribute these to. Brothers sometimes "divide up" their living sisters in a similar way, each thereby making himself responsible for the ceremonial and other requirements of one, two or more sisters, whether these women are married or not. In all of these examples, which I cull from recorded occurrences, there are no specific rules to guide behaviour in every eventuality. What we find instead is a rational attempt to compromise where necessary and fulfill kinship obligations where possible. Family enmities, premature deaths, lack of interest, divorce, absence, or poverty may all enter into the modification not only of kinship rules but of agreed-upon arrangements such as we have just instanced. Egalitarianism between siblings of the same sex is certainly one guiding principle here, even if circumstances make it difficult or perhaps impossible to honour.

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Many of the Badaga kinship "rules" are preferences rather than prescriptions. Take the "rule" of cross-cousin marriage, for example, which is typical of Dravidian kinship systems. In the Badaga case a youth may marry

582 [121]

(amongst others) either his FZD or his MBD, but there is a marked preference for a FZD and some good reasons for it.[3] One involves a feeling of status congruence. Men, it is believed, demean themselves somewhat by becoming bride-givers. This is acknowledged nowadays by the payment of dowry, a new custom among the Badagas. But a young man's spiritual guide is not the family priest in this community; instead it is always his MB, whom he calls *guru* and also accords much respect. It is thus incongruent if that particular man should give his daughter in marriage to the very boy he has counselled. Marriage with a FZD, or with the daughter of a MB other than one's *guru*, gets around this emotional problem.

Patrilocality is another preference that is usually spoken of as an unbending rule. Yet there is in point of fact a term, *aḷiya se:tu*, for the live-in son-in-law, a young man who opts to live with his wife's family after their marriage. This is considered an undignified and pitiful thing to do, but it can bring real material advantages to a man whose wife has no brothers, and is a necessary alternative to virilocal residence in such a family. The epic ballad *Ba:la Sevana* deals with a man who moves into his father-in-law's village to help with the buffaloes, leaving his own mother in her village lamenting the loss of her only son, and bemoaning her fate since "there will be nobody to set fire to her corpse." It is interesting to note that Ba:la Sevana married into the Kunda region, one that used to be so economically distressed that its children were often sold into bondage for a period of years, thereby becoming the household servants of Badagas in other parts of the Nilgiris. The live-in son-in-law was one institution that helped make up for the loss of male children in those bad years, when bondage was the only answer to the threat of starvation in that region.

## 2. Patriliny and Patrilocality

Today the Badagas are successful cash-crop farmers specialising in cabbages, potatoes, and tea; those of the Kunda region are the wealthiest in the District. Until the early part of this century, on the other hand, they were all mainly farmers of millet. This and several other grains, together with dairy produce, provided their subsistence. When one delves further back in their history, to the 17th and 18th centuries when they were already well established on the Nilgiri Hills but with a population of under 2,000, one finds that the Badagas were already millet farmers yet thought of themselves as primarily buffalo herdsmen. This is reflected very clearly in a number of their epic ballads dating from that time. Since each family or lineage used once to have its own herd of buffaloes, then it is legitimate for us to consider

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[3] Letters placed in single apostrophes, 'A', 'B', 'C', etc.; stand for hypothetical people and are like personal names. Letters placed in double quotation marks, e.g. "M," "F," etc., indicate classificatory rather than actual kin relationships, and should be read as "in the category of mothers," and so on. Z = sister, S = son, etc.

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW30



121 the kinship system in the Badaga case as having developed as a means of assigning and transferring ownership of and rights in property, especially cattle and houses, but to a lesser extent land too. We must remember that [241] in the early days Badagas practised swidden agriculture (although strangely that is not mentioned in the early ballads), and the Nilgiri population density was so low that land really had no market value there and was very easy to come by.

233 Now, keeping a herd of buffaloes requires adequate grazing and certain other conditions. One is the presence of a number of active men, typically brothers, who will keep the herd together while grazing and fend off tigers [539] when possible. Women could not do this work: the epic poem *Ba:la Sevana* [462] ridicules the mother of the hero for trying to drive the family's herd out to graze with a stick in her hand. Both swidden and ordinary plough agriculture 241 also called for the combined efforts of several men (as well as a number of 476 women), and so here too Badagas found a good reason for cultivating their 596 fields as a joint family. Many still do so today. The point to be noted is that both the buffalo-herding and ox-ploughing and swidden cultivation were economic conditions that favoured patrilocality, the joint family, and 182 brother/sister exchange at marriage—this latter a preference which maintained a balance of manpower between two intermarrying families or settlements. If a youth married his FZD and her brother in turn married *his* 581 MBD, brother/sister exchange would result, the ideal of cross-cousin mar- 582 riage would be honoured, the two families involved would have asserted their 583 equality, and close relations would ensue between them. Where brother/ 586 sister exchange has occurred, divorce becomes rather more difficult because it places great strains on the other couple, those who are not getting divorced.

591 The girls in this system invariably go off to another village in marriage 881 at or shortly after menarche, where they will be needed to *(a)* do house-work 462 and look after small children; *(b)* do some sowing, weeding and reaping in the fields; and *(c)* raise a new generation of farmers and buffalo herdsmen. In this married situation the birth of a son means that a woman has largely 602 fulfilled all three of her obligations to the family she has joined—for on [885] marriage a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family, lineage, [562] and village, and joins those of her husband. Her membership in them is made [851] especially manifest when her husband dies and a son continues to support her in her husband's village; and when she too dies it is her husband's village and its headman who are responsible for conducting her funeral, with the collaboration of her husband's family.

562 The economic decision-making rests with the adult men: when to sow, what to plant in each kind of soil, when and where to move the cattle in search of new grazing, when to harvest, and, in former times, when to move 182 the swidden. These decisions call for accurate topographical knowledge, and 562 it is thus both appropriate and necessary that the detailed local knowledge which boys acquire in work and play should be put to good use when they

9: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50



## 5. Adoption and Inheritance

428 Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

182 428 (582)

428 Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish *(sa:la)* in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

763 (212)

428 There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

(1362) (1364) (593)

125 115 In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The percentages of women "owning" houses were at nearly all levels less than for

423 562

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50



601 Another possible situation does give some weight to female generation-level. Here (Diagram 6) 'A' has married 'B' but then produced no children, so 'B' arranges for a second wife, and marries 'C', his first wife's niece. A son 'Y' is then born to 'C', but subsequently to this 'A' also produces a son 'X'. In this situation 'Y' must always call 'X' "elder brother" although in point of fact 'X' is younger than 'Y'.

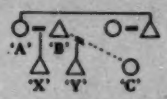


Diagram 6

Yet another instance of how relationship is determined by one's husband's generation-level is found in the following case (Diagram 7). 'B's' wife died and so he married 'C', who is classified as a "daughter" to his son-in-law 'D'. She therefore calls 'D' "father" and he calls her "daughter". 'C' also calls 'A' "mother", since she is seen by her as a "father's" wife, but at the same time 'A' calls 'C' "mother" too, because 'C' is also a father's wife for 'A'.

Diagram 7

## 7. Marriage Patterns

582 615 While there is a hierarchy among the various phratries that make up Badaga society, and while there are definite marriage rules linking particular clans (i.e., clan P tends to find most or all of its spouses in clan Q of the same phratry, and *vice versa*), this hierarchy and set of marriage preferences is not supported by a belief concerning purity and pollution of the individual. In fact, one can argue that hypergamy and hypogamy are equally acceptable to the Badagas—something that is perhaps unique for any non-tribal Indian community. Thus a girl or youth of the vegetarian Ha:ruva clan may marry a person of a non-vegetarian Gauda clan without any adverse comment; nothing worse in fact than some inconveniences at mealtimes. Instead 581 of purity/pollution considerations, it is shame or prestige that becomes important during marriage arrangements. Thus everybody wants to marry a headman's child but nobody wants to marry an orphan. A large joint family is considered a strong and respectable social unit—even if a new bride sometimes feels less than welcome in it—and people do seek marriage connections with it for their daughters.

8: Rockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AWSO Badaga AWSO



Badagas will state that the preferred marriage partner is a FZD. However, one can also marry a MBD or a WZ. They will also explain that the following cannot be married: Z, FZ, FW, FBD, BD, SD, half-Z, WBW, WMZ, WM, WZD, MZD, FBW, BW, SW, ZD, DD, WBD, MZ, and MBW (see Table 2). Males do not generally marry women older than themselves although they can marry a woman in an ascending generational position so long as she is in a "potential wife" category.

Given that Badagas prefer marriage with the cross-cousins, and given further that property is to be divided equally between all sons of a man, ZD-marriage—found elsewhere in South India—appears to be an impossible preference for them (with the exception of the anomalous case illustrated in Diagram 12). It cannot be tolerated because it could lead to ambiguities concerning descent and inheritance. Picture the situation (Diagram 8) where

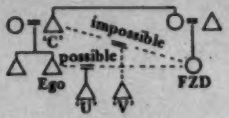


Diagram 8

Ego marries his FZD, which is indeed the prime Badaga preference: if Ego's father 'C' has two sons, then Ego inherits 1/2 of his father's property. If Ego marries his FZD and also has only one son, 'U', the latter inherits all of Ego's property. But if Ego's father were to have sexual access to his ZD when she was his own son's wife living in his house, and if further Ego died before his father and then the woman gave birth to a son 'V' shortly afterwards, some serious questions would arise about inheritance. For if 'V' were considered the son of 'C', then Ego and 'V' would each inherit 1/3 of 'C's' property, and 'U' would inherit all of Ego's property. But if 'V' were considered as the son of Ego, Ego would inherit 1/2 of his father's property, and 'U' and 'V' would each inherit 1/2 of Ego's. To avoid quarrels over the inheritance, and further quarrels over sexual access to a woman living in the joint family, a man cannot marry or have relations with his SW, even when she is his own ZD, and even though the son may have pre-deceased his father.

There are four basic groups into which a male cannot marry. They are:

1) Females of Ego's own patrilineage. This would include women who are born into his patrilineage: Z, FZ, FBD, MBW, BD, SD, half-Z (when the common parent was the father), WBW, WMZ, WM, WZD. All females marrying into Ego's lineage would also be included here (including M, MZ, FBW, and FW), for a woman becomes part of her husband's lineage when she marries. When brother/sister exchange does in fact occur, a WBW would be equivalent to Ego's own Z; a WMZ or a WM or a MBW would equal FZ; and WZD would be Ego's own daughter if he had married his WZ.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50



582 2) Parallel cousins. MZD could be Ego's half-Z if his father had married the MZ. FBD is included here but has also been mentioned under the previous heading.

3) Daughters of offspring and of siblings. A SD, ZD, DD, and WBD (who would be a ZD when brother/sister exchange occurred) are in this category.

613 4) Wives of other lineage males. FW and FBW, FFBW and FM are encompassed in this category. As already stated, these women become part of Ego's lineage once they marry into it.

The basic people Ego can marry (FZD, MBD, and WZ) are cross-cousins, ideally with brother/sister exchange linking two families.

615 Badagas see all of their phratry as either affine or agnate. As a woman is assimilated into her husband's lineage when she marries, she therefore becomes an agnate to the husband rather than remaining an affine. An affine could basically be described then as a potential wife or potential wife-giver.

### 8. Marriage Possibilities: Some Interesting Anomalies

121 Owing to the fact that the ideal marriage partner—actual FZD or MBD—is not always available, certain unusual marriage possibilities have been noted among the Badagas. In the following section I will examine them, using hypothetical examples presented by my informants.

582 The first thing to understand in Diagram 9 is that although 'Y' is of an earlier generation than Ego (seemingly his great-grandmother), she should be of younger age than Ego. Ego's mother was not in 'X's' lineage after her marriage, thus her father 'X' and *his* father would be of a wife-giving lineage and the marriage would then be unusual but still permissible.

**Diagram 9**

I have combined two other cases (Diagrams 10 and 11) because basically they are the same: a man is marrying his father's second wife's sister. Although this would put the bride in a classificatory "M" role, the marriage would be permissible for the following reasons (I will use Diagram 10 to illustrate): Ego's father's second wife was not in Ego's lineage before her marriage, thus her parents would not be in Ego's lineage. It is assumed that Ego's father's second wife's father's second wife ("MM") was not a member of Ego's lineage before marriage but was a member of a third lineage. Thus, as long as the daughter of this woman in no way fits into a category of

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50



people that Ego cannot marry because of agnatic relationship to a member of Ego's own lineage, she is a permissible marriage partner, although considered "M". S820

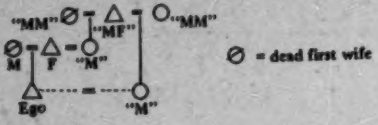


Diagram 10

In Diagram 11 we find that while Ego's son 'P' can marry the ZD of Ego, his other son 'Q' by Ego's "ZD" cannot marry Ego's actual ZD, as this would be considered tantamount to mother/son incest.

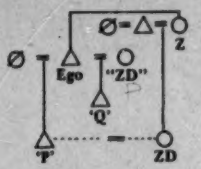


Diagram 11

What is called "uncle/niece" marriage is possible, but only under certain special circumstances. In Diagram 12, Ego cannot marry his actual ZD because he is always a *guru* to her, and has to perform certain ceremonies for her which preclude his being her husband too. He can however marry his sister's step-daughter, a classificatory "ZD", since she will have someone other than Ego to act as her *guru*; this would be permissible provided the second wife of the ZH had been taken from a lineage other than Ego's. (604)

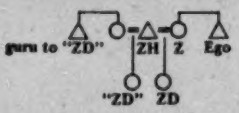


Diagram 12

Diagram 13 simply illustrates the fact that a male Ego may marry women of different generation levels all at once or one after another. Badagas generally do not marry women older than themselves, so it is assumed that all of these women are of a younger age than Ego. As relationship is only counted on the paternal side, any or all of these marriages would be permissible, simultaneously or sequentially. If 'Q' has a son 'Y' by Ego, while 'R' has a son 'X' by some other man, 'X' will call 'Y' "father." If Ego subsequently marries 'R', 'X' will then start to call 'Y' "brother." S62 S95

81 Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50



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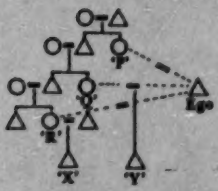


Diagram 13

Even though 'Q' (who is married to 'R') is, in Diagram 14, in a classificatory "mother" relationship to 'R', Ego can still marry 'X'. The FM of 'X' is not of Ego's lineage. Assuming that the FFZSW is no longer of Ego's lineage and is not related through any members of Ego's lineage in such a way as to preclude the marriage, then this union is permissible. It should be pointed out that there is more than one way to "skin a cat" and in any of these marriages the relationship between the two potential spouses can be figured in such a way as to allow the marriage. If in fact Ego *were* related to 'X' so as to prohibit the marriage with her, but if this relationship were distant enough, it might simply be overlooked provided no one protested.

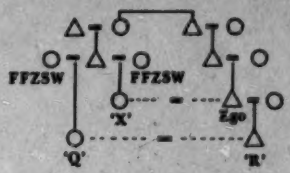


Diagram 14

## 9. The Family: Some Conclusions

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In the larger phratries the Badagas have a generalized system of marital exchange, a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Such a system allows some of the clans to differ in status from others. In the smaller phratries consisting of no more than two clans, however, restricted exchange occurs, still with the bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

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Because of their theory of patriliny, namely that every infant is formed solely from the semen of its father, the two prime cross-cousins who constitute potential spouses are in an equivalent relationship for Ego. From a Badaga male's point of view, these possibilities are MBD and FZHD—in other words, the daughter of a bride-taker (or bride-giver) who belongs to another

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AWSO Badaga AWSO



lineage and clan. Once married, a brother and sister belong to different but linked clans, and so it is appropriate that their children should marry each other. If the pattern of brother/sister exchange continues for more than one generation the MBD *is* also a man's FZHD. Marriage between such cross-cousins thus has the effect of balancing out the bride-debt in alternating generations: in every generation the males take brides from those lineages to which their fathers had sent their own sisters in marriage. This reciprocity can be demonstrated statistically. Table 3 takes the example of Hulla:ḍa village, which is centrally located on the Nilgiri Plateau, and traces all available information on the number of wives who have joined it from other villages and the number of Hulla:ḍa girls who have gone in marriage to other villages. There were in 1963 (when I first did a complete census of the village) 98 women who had married into the village from other clans. Ten of these people were elderly widows whose connections with their natal villages had been broken off by death and time. Sixty other women, born in Hulla:ḍa, were known to be married elsewhere and still kept up some social ties, such as periodic visiting, with this, their natal village. Four women born here had done something quite atypical by marrying within Hulla:ḍa itself; but this situation was acceptable because it did not contravene the rule of clan exogamy. In each case either the husband or the wife belonged to a family of an "Outsider" lineage and another clan who had settled in this village quite recently from elsewhere. It should be pointed out that there was a tendency among the villagers to forget all about old widowed women, originally from this village, who had been living elsewhere for periods of up to 70 years; and this explains why the second column in Table 3 generally has a lesser number of women than does the first.

TABLE 3
Marriage Reciprocity Between Villages

| Affinal village | Number of living wives in Hulla:ḍa originally from— | Number of living Hulla:ḍa women married to— |
|---|---|---|
| Tumanatti | 29 | 13 |
| Mainele | 21 | 12 |
| Kundasappe | 11 | 13 |
| Tu:ne:ri | 7 | 9 |
| 15 other known villages | 20 | 13 |
| Now unknown villages | 10 | ? |
| | (*N*=98) | (*N*=60+?) |

It is remarkable that, out of well over a hundred suitable villages, a mere four of them account for about 70% of Hulla:ḍa's marriage ties. The normal practice here keeps the number of villages and families involved

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50



582 628 in its marriage network down to manageable proportions. There is definitely an ideal and a strong tendency towards reciprocity between two Badaga villages in the exchange of women. Thus 67% of all wives found in Hulla:ḍa in 1963 came from the first four villages named in Table 3. 78% of the daughters married away from Hulla:ḍa who still maintained social ties there were also living in those same four villages. This reciprocity is felt to be the responsibility of each lineage, and it is to some extent reflected in the data of Table 4 concerning the marriage patterns of each Hulla:ḍa lineage. (For simplicity, only the villages with which Hulla:ḍa was linked by more than 20 marriages in 1963 have been included.) This table shows that at that time Naḍu Mane lineage had a perfect record of reciprocity with those villages. O:sa Mane and the "Outsiders" (relatively recent settlers from elsewhere) manifest at least a tolerable degree of reciprocity. In fact, complete reciprocity is not often attainable because nubile women may not be available in a particular village when needed for a marriage, or required in Hulla:ḍa when available elsewhere. When a lineage has sent a disproportionately greater number of women in marriage to another village than it has received brides from that place, a sense of uneasiness with the situation is usually felt.

613 582 628

TABLE 4

Reciprocity in Marriage, by Lineages

| Hulla:ḍa Lineages | Women from | Known women to | Women from | Known women to | Women from | Known women to |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tumanaṭṭi | | Mainele | | Kundasappe | |
| Doḍḍa Mane | 3 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Me:l Ke:ri | 9 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Naḍu Mane | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| O:sa Mane | 6 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| "Outsiders" | 8 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |

583 584 582 Cross-cousin marriage does sometimes take the form of sister exchange, an ideally reciprocal arrangement. If a young man does not marry his ZHZ (who might be either a MBD or FZD to him), he commonly marries a related neighbour of his ZH. This alliance offers an easy resolution to the practical problem of finding a go-between and arranging the alliance: the youth has the excuse of visiting his married sisters while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides in their village, and the fathers of these girls can feel more secure about arranging a marriage with a family already linked to their village and perhaps the joint family through previous marriages.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50



to their own country they preferred to settle down as the cultivators of the Tôḍa-lands, acknowledging the Tôḍas as their landlords, and themselves taking up the humble position of farmers under them; and the lazy Tôḍa who was extremely glad to get people to cultivate his lands was thoroughly satisfied with this arrangement. Even to this day the Baḍagas, in acknowledgment of their subordination to the Tôḍas, pay their *Gûḍu*—their tenants' fee—to these landlords of the Nîlagiris.

Another fact that seems to indicate that the Baḍagas are immigrants is that a crude kind of polyandry exists among them. Baḍaga society allows this practice, and it is not uncommon when a man has five sons for only one of them to be married, though Baḍagas when questioned about it stoutly deny the existence of this custom. If the marriage tie is in this respect somewhat lax, the Baḍaga rules in other ways are very strict, and a woman would be at once out-casted who went astray with a person of a different caste. The existence of this custom among the Baḍagas is, as has been said, probably to be explained by the fact that they are immigrants. Naturally most of those who came up from Maisûr would be men, and the hardships consequent upon the great change of climate and habits of life would tell more severely upon the women than upon the hardier male sex. The practice of polyandry having thus been allowed to grow up obtained the sanction of custom, and still prevails as a caste-rule to which little or no objection is made.

This custom, the existence of all crafts and arts among themselves, and the payments of *Gûḍu* in recognition of the Tôḍas as their landlords, are three very strong proofs of the contention that the Baḍagas are only colonists on these hills, and are not the original inhabitants.

There are several sects among the Baḍagas. Mr. Grigg enumerates eighteen—seven major and eleven minor. From the results of my researches I consider that all these eighteen may be simplified into six—five high-caste and one low-caste.

They are

1. Uḍaya
2. Hâruva
3. Adhikâri
4. Kaṇaka
5. Baḍaga

(High caste.)

6. Toray

...ayas are Liṅgâyats ...